

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 AID-20 NIC-01

EB-11 TRSE-00 DRC-01 /189 W
----- 066055

R 071538Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4465

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 15301

DEPT PASS BAGHDAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UR XG

SUBJ: SYTENKO ON ME

REF: MOSCOW 15078

1. SUMMARY. DURING MY CALL DECEMBER 7 ON CHIEF OF MFA NEAR
EAST COUNTRIES DIVISION SYTENKO, HE (1) SAID THAT
PONOMAREV VISIT TO BAGHDAD HAD FAILED TO ALTER
IRAQI OPPOSITION TO CURRENT ME PEACE EFFORTS;
(2) SOFT-PEDALLED SOVIET SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIANS
AND EMPHASIZED NEBULOUS NATURE OF PALESTINIAN
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POSITON; (3) CRITIZICED ISRAELI INTRANCE;

(4) DENIED SOVIET INFLUENCE OVER ARAB OIL POLICY: AND
(5) SAID THAT IN CONTEXT OF PEACE SETTLEMENT US-
SOVIET COOPERATION ON ARMS LIMITATION MIGHT BE
DESIRABLE. END SUMMARY.

2. SYTENKO, WHO ACCOMPANIED PONOMAREV TO BAGHDAD
DECEMBER 27-30 (REFTEL), SAID IRAQIS DID NOT MOVE FROM
THEIR POSITION OPPOSING PRESENT EFFORTS TO ATTAIN ME
PEACE SETTLEMENT. IRAQIS STILL DO NOT ACCEPT SC
RES. 242, AND THEY DO NOT BELIEVE CURRENT ARAB
STRATEGY WILL PRODUCE A SETTLEMENT. THEY VIEW SYRIAN
AND EGYPTIAN ACCEPTANCE OF CEASE-FIRE AS A MISTAKE AND
MAINTAIN THAT BATTLE SHOULD HAVE CONTINUED. ACCORDING
TO SYTENKO IRAQIS DO NOT INTEND TO BECOME INVOLVED IN
ME PEACE CONFERENCE (HE NOTED IRAQIS DID NOT ATTEND
ALGIERS SUMMIT), BUT THEY DID NOT INDICATE THEY WOULD
INTERFERE WITH ARAB STRATEGY TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT.
IF SETTLEMENT FAILS TO EMERGE, IRAQIS WILL BE IN
POSITION TO SAY "I TOLD YOU SO." SYTENKO SAID SOVIET
DELEGATION HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO ALTER IRAQI VIEWS
ON ME OR TO CONVINCE IRAQIS OF RIGHTNESS OF PRESENT
COURSE FOR ARABS.

3. ON PALESTINIAN MATTERS SYTENKO SAID SOVIETS
STILL DO NOT HAVE CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT PALESTINIANS'
LEGITIMATE RIGHTS WILL MEAN. PALESTINIANS HAVE NOT
DEFINED THEIR RIGHTS OR DEVELOPED A PROGRAM. SOVIETS
SUPPORT LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS, BUT THEY
ARE WAITING FOR PALESTINIANS THEMSELVES TO DEFINE PRO-
GRAM WHICH, IF ACCEPTABLE, SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL SUPPORT.
IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION ABOUT POSSIBLE FORMATION OF
A PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE, SYTENKO SAID IDEA IS
SADAT'S AND WAS NOT RAISED BY SOVIETS OR DISCUSSED
DURING ARAFAT'S MOSCOW VISIT. SYTENKO DID NOT SPECI-
FICALLY ADDRESS MY QUESTION REGARDING DISTINCTION
BETWEEN "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS" AND "LEGITIMATE NATIONAL
RIGHTS," BUT INDICATED THAT DISTINCTION IS NOT SIGNI-
FICANT AND OBSERVED THAT PALESTINIANS HAVE NOT DEFINED
WHAT THEY MEAN BY RIGHTS.

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4. SYTENKO EXPRESSED CONCERN AT ISRAELI INTRANSIGENT
POLICY WHICH HE SAID SOVIETS DO NOT UNDERSTAND EVEN
FROM ISRAEL'S POINT OF VIEW. ISRAELIS HAVE REFUSED TO
IMPLEMENT SC RESOLUTIONS, AND THEY HAVE GROWN MORE
ISOLATED (HE REFERRED TO SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL BY AFRICAN STATES). HE THEN
MADE POINT THAT ISRAEL MUST BE MADE TO SEE THAT SETTLE-
MENT NOW IS IN ISRAELI INTEREST. IF SETTLEMENT DOES

NOT OCCUR, ARABS WILL BE STRONGER IN THREE YEARS.
ISRAEL SHOULD TAKE 6,000 SQ. KM. LAND IT HAS ADDED TO
TERRITORY IT HELD IN 1947 AND REACH SETTLEMENT ON
BASIS ON 1967 BOUNDARIES. OTHERWISE, SITUATION WILL
GROW MORE DIFFICULT AND ARABS MORE MILITARY (HE NOTED
THAT BOURGUIBA HAD ALREADY MENTIONED 1947 BORDERS).

5. ON ARAB USE OF OIL AS POLITICAL WEAPONS SYTENKO SAID
SOVIETS ARE PLAYING NO ROLE. OIL WAS TOOL WHICH ARABS
HAD DECIDED WAS EFFECTIVE, AND SOVIETS ARE NOT IN
POSITION TO INFLUENCE THEIR POLICY. HE NOTED THAT
FAISAL IS SOMEONE WHOM SOVIETS CANNOT INFLUENCE IN ANY
EVENT.

6. I ASKED ABOUT POSSIBILITIES FOR LIMITING ARMS
SHIPMENTS TO ME. SYTENKO SAID SUBJECT HAD BEEN
DISCUSSED WITH U.S., BUT IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES
LIMITATIONS ARE NOT POSSIBLE. IF SETTLEMENT EMERGES
FROM PEACE CONFERENCE, OPPORTUNITY FOR SOVIETS AND
U.S. TO COOPERATION IN THIS MATTER WOULD BE IMPROVED, AND
HE THOUGHT IN CONTEXT OF A SETTLEMENT SUCH ACTION
MIGHT BE DESIRABLE.

7. SYTENKO SAID HE WOULD PROBABLY BE IN GENEVA FOR
BEGINNING OF ME PEACE CONFERENCE, BUT HE WOULD NOT
REMAIN AS PART OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION. DUBS

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED BAGHDAD.

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